

Message Text

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ACTION DLOS-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 ACDA-12 AGRE-00 AID-05
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DOTE-00 EB-08 EPA-01 SOE-02 DOE-15 FMC-01 TRSE-00
H-01 INR-10 INT-05 JUSE-00 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
NSF-01 OES-07 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 /148 W

-----086460 032324Z /15

R 031408Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5259
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USDOCOSOUTH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 ATHENS 2721

BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PLOS, PEPR, GR, UT
SUBJECT: FURTHER INFORMATION ON GREEK-TURKISH AEGEAN TALKS
IN PARIS

REF: ATHENS 1515

1. DURING DISCUSSION OF OTHER MATTERS WITH MFA DIRECTOR
GENERAL FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS TZOUNIS, DCM BROUGHT UP
AGAIN THE QUESTION OF CONTINENTAL SHELF TALKS IN PARIS
LAST FEBRUARY. HE SAID THAT DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS
RECEIVED FROM ANKARA, ATHENS AND ELSEWHERE HAD LED TO SOME CON-
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FUSION ABOUT WHAT HAD TAKEN PLACE AND TO SOME FEELING
THAT GOG HAD NOT REALLY BEEN INTERESTED IN SERIOUS
NEGOTIATIONS. TZOUNIS HOTLY DENIED THIS AND WANTED
TO KNOW WHAT THE TURKISH SIDE HAD REPORTED. WHILE
DECLINING TO GET INTO DETAILS, DCM SAID OUR IMPRESSION
FROM SEVERAL SOURCES WAS THAT GREEK SIDE HAD PRESENTED
THREE PROGRESSIVELY LESS FAVORABLE PROPOSALS AND HAD

REJECTED TURKISH PROPOSALS IMMEDIATELY WITHOUT EVEN REFERRING THEM TO ATHENS. DCM SPECULATED THAT ONE OF REASONS FOR OUR PERHAPS INCORRECT IMPRESSEION WAS THAT NEITHER IN ATHENS NOR WASHINGTON HAD WE BEEN ABLE TO GET A VERY CLEAR OR COMPLETE EXPALNATION FROMGOG OF WHAT HAD OCCURRED, AND HE HOPED TZOUNIS MIGHT BE ABLE TO HELP SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT.

2. TZOUNIS STARTED BY REVIEWING PROPOSAL GREEKS HAD MADE TO TURKS IN JUNE 1977 TO WHICH NO TURKISH REPLY HAD BEEN RECEIFED AT TIME OF FEBRUARY 1978 PARIS TALKS. IN BRIEF, PROPOSAL WAS THAT WHERE CONVENTIONAL BOUNDARIES BETWEEN ISLANDS AND TURKEY EXIST BY TREATY OR CONVENTION THEY WOULD BE RESPECTED AND THAT NO CONTINENTAL SHELF RIGHTS WOULD BE ALLOWED TO TURKEY ON WESTERN SIDE OF THOSE ISLANDS. WHERE SUCH BOUNDARIES DO NOT EXIST, I.E., IN WIDE GAPS BETWEEN SEVERAL OF THE ISLANDS, GOG HAD PROPOSED THAT BOTH SIDES ACCEPT A MEDIAN LINE AS AFFECTED BY THE NATURAL PROLONGATION OF THE TURKISH CONTINENTAL SHEFL. THIS SO-CALLED MARITIME FACADE CONCEPT WAS SIMILAR TO THAT USED IN TEH NORTH SEA AND OTHER CASES IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. IT WOULD RESULT IN SOME EXCLUSIVE NATIONAL AREAS OF CONTROL OVER THE CONTINENTAL SHELF AND SOME OVERLAPPING AREAS WHICH COULD BE ALLOTTED BY AGREEMENT. TZOUNIS SAID THIS PROPOSAL WOULD MORE THAN DOUBEL THE AREA
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ALLOTTED TO TURKEY UNDER ORIGINAL GREEK PROPOSAL, AND IT THEREFORE REPRESENTED SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSION BY GOG. TZOUNIS SADI GREEKS HAD ALSO BEEN WILLING TO CONSIDER JOINT ECONOMIC VENTURES IN NON-EXCLUSIVE AREAS BUT ABSOLUTELY REJECTED ANY CONDOMINIUM OR OTHER CONCES- SIONS AFFECTING GREECE'S SOVEREIGN RIGHTS.

3. ACCORDING TO TZOUNIS, DURING JUNE 1977 DISCUSSIONS TURKS HAD MERELY REPEATED PROPOSAL THEY HAD MADE TWO YEARS EARLIER, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE FARNKER THAN BEFORE IN ADMITTING THAT WHAT THEY HAD IN MIND IN NON-EXCLUSIVE AREAS WAS REALLY CONDOMINIUM OR CO-OWNERSHIP. THIS IS ONE BIT OF EVIDENCE, TZOUNIS SAID, THAT IT IS ACTUALLY THE GREEKS WHO ARE NEGOTIATING SERIOUSLY AND OFFERING CONCESSIONS WHILE TURKS ARE STANDING PAT.

4. AT PARIS TALKS IN FEBURAY 1978 TURKISH NEGOTIATOR BILGE HAD ASKED "INGENUOUSLY" IF MEDIAN LINE MENTIONED IN GREEK PROPOSAL OF PREVIOUS JUNE MEANT A LINE HALFWAY BETWEEN CONTINENTAL MASSES OF THE TWO COUNTRIES. TZOUNIS

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R 031408Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5260
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BERN
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HAD REPLIED IT DID NOT, AS HE IS SURE BILGE ALREADY
CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD. MEDIAN LINE, TZOUNIS TOLD BILGE,
WAS AS COMMONLY INTERPRETED IN INTERNATIONAL LAW, THAT
IS, INCLUDING ALL ISLANDS, ALTHOUGH GOG HAD OFFERED TO
EXTEND TURKISH AREAS BY MEANS OF MARITIME FACADE.
BILGE HAD THEREUPON IMMEDIATELY REJECTED GREEK PROPOSAL,
CLAIMING IT WOULD LEAVE TURKEY ONLY EIGHT PERCENT OF
AEAGEAN'S CONTINENTAL SHELF, FAR LESS THAN IT WOULD BE
ENTITLED TO UNDER ANY EXISTING LEGAL PRECEDENTS.
(TZOUNIS DENIED TO DCM THAT GOG PROPOSAL WOULD GIVE
TURKS ONLY EIGHT PERCENT, CLAIMING GREEK EXPERTS HAD
MADE AT LEAST 20 DIFFERENT CALCULATIONS OF HOW MUCH
SHELF WOULD BE ALLOTTED TO TURKEY UNDER THIS PROPOSAL DEPENDING
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ON HOW THE LINES WERE DRAWN. HE DECLINED, HOWEVER, TO INDICATE

MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM AREA WHICH TURKS WOULD GET UNDER ALL THESE CALCULATIONS.)

5. HAVING REJECTED EIGHT-MONTH-OLD GREEK OFFER, BILGE THEN MADE TURKISH COUNTERPROPOSAL WHICH TZOUNIS SAID CONSISTED OF 15 PERCENT EXCLUSIVE JURISDICTION FOR BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY WITH REMAINDER OF AEGEAN UNDER "COMMON EXPLOITATION". WHEN QUESTIONED ABOUT MEANING OF "COMMON EXPLOITATION", ACCORDING TO TZOUNIS. THIS WAS, HE SAID, THE SAME OLD PROPOSAL TURKS HAVE PUSHED SINCE 1975 AND HE THEREFORE REJECTED IT ON THE SPOT WITHOUT REFERENCE TO ATHENS FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

(A) BILGE'S PROPOSAL WAS BEYOND THE TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE PARIS TALKS WHICH CALLED FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON DELIMITATION, NOT APPORTIONMENT, OF CONTINENTAL SHELF. TZOUNIS SAID TURKS HAD AGREED TO THIS AS EARLY AS 1974 AND REITERATED IT IN BERN IN NOVEMBER 1976, STRASBOURG IN APRIL 1977, AND ELSEWHERE.

(B) GREECE COULD NOT ACCEPT THE AUTOMATIC SURRENDER OF WHATEVER EXCLUSIVE AND SOVEREIGN RIGHTS IT MIGHT BE ENTITLED TO UNDER 1958 GENEVA CONVENTION AND OTHER APPLICABLE PRECEDENTS, AND THIS WOULD HAVE RESULTED FROM BILGE'S PROPOSAL. ALTHOUGH TURKS HAD SAID THEY WOULD NOT ENCLAVE ANY GREEK ISLANDS BY INSISTING ON CONDOMINIUM TO THE WEST OF THESE ISLANDS, TURKS' PROPOSAL WOULD IN FACT ENCLAVE ISLAND UNDER THEIR DEFINITION OF "COMMON EXPLOITATION", AND FURTHERMORE JOINT VENTURES UNDER THESE CONDITIONS WOULD BE COMPLICATED BY CONFLICT OF NATIONAL LAWS REGARDING LABOR, SOCIAL SECURITY, LIABILITY, ETC.
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(C) ACCEPTING 15 PERCENT OF AEGEAN AS TURKISH WOULD DISRUPT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTINUITY OF GREEK STATE, WHICH NATURALLY INCLUDES ALL THE GREEK ISLANDS. TZOUNIS SAID GOG FEARED TURKISH PROPOSAL WAS MERELY THE FIRST STEP OF PROGRESSIVE SALAMI TACTICS AND THAT EVENTUALLY GOG WOULD DEMAND CONVERSION OF ITS ECONOMIC ZONE TO TURKISH SOVEREIGNTY.
AND (D) BILGE'S PROPOSAL WAS CLEARLY A DISGUISED VERSION OF THE SAME TURKISH PROPOSAL MADE IN JUNE 1977 AND BEFORE, TZOUNIS SAID. SINCE HE HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED BY THE POLITICAL LEVEL OF GOG TO REJECT THOSE PROPOSALS, HE SAW NO REASON TO CHECK WITH ATHENS AGAIN BEFORE REJECTING THIS ONE.

6. TZOUNIS CONTINUED THAT FTER PROPOSALS PRESENTED FIRST

BY BOTH SIDES AT THE PARIS TALKS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED AND REJECTED, HE HAD SUGGESTED THE TWO SIDES TAKE A LEAF FROM U.S./CANADIAN CONTINENTAL SHELF NEGOTIATIONS AND REVERSE THE USUAL PROCEDURE. GREECE AND TURKEY MIGHT FIRST AGREE ON BASIC PRINCIPLES SUCH AS THAT EACH COUNTRY WOULD HAVE AN EXCLUSIVE ZONE WITH THE REST OF THE AEGEAN DESIGNATED A ZONE OF DIVIDED ACCESS. AFTER AGREEMENT ON THESE PRINCIPLES, THE EXACT AREA OF EACH ZONE COULD BE DELINEATED LATER. ANY RESOURCES FOUND WITHIN TURKISH ZONE WOULD BE TURKISH, BUT 50 PERCENT OF ALL RESOURCES FOUND ANYWHERE ON THE CONTINENTAL SHELF WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO EACH COUNTRY AT WORLD PRICES. TZOUNIS CLAIMED HE HAD MADE THIS OFFER ONLY AS AN EXAMPLE OF ANOTHER POSSIBLE APPROACH WHICH MIGHT BREAK THE IMPASSE. IT HAD THE ADVANTAGE OF MAKING IT POSSIBLE TO DEFER DELIMITATION OF EACH COUNTRY'S EXCLUSIVE AREA UNTIL SUCH TIME AS IT MIGHT BE POLITICALLY MORE PALATABLE. AS PART OF THIS

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R 031408Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
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PACKAGE, TZOUNIS SAID HE HAD TRIED TO ACCOMMODATE
TURKISH SECURITY CONCERNS WHICH BILGE EXPRESSED BY

SUGGESTING A JOINT DECLARATION THAT ALL AREAS OF DIVIDED ACCESS WOULD REMAIN AS HIGH SEAS. IF THIS DID NOT SATISFY TURKS, TZOUNIS SAID, SPECIAL AGREEMENTS COULD BE DRAWN UP TO MEET THEIR LEGITIMATE CONCERNS ABOUT ACCESS TO TURKISH PORTS, FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION, AND SO ON.

7. AFTER CONSULTING WITH ANKARA, BILGE HAD REJECTED GOG APPROACH. ONLY THEN, TZOUNIS SAID, DID HE TELL BILGE THAT GOG WOULD NOT BE BOUND IN FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS TO ANY PART OF ITS MOST RECENT OFFER, SINCE TURKS HAD REJECTED IT. HE SAID HE TOLD BILGE THAT GOG WOULD NOT BE PARTY
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TO MIDDLE EAST BARGAINING TACTICS WHICH WOULD ALLOW TURKS TO SAY, "WE ACCEPT THIS PART OF YOUR OFFER, NOW WHAT ELSE WILL YOU CONCEDE?". TZOUNIS THEREUPON SUGGESTED TO BILGE THAT THEY WAIT UNTIL AFTER MEETING OF PRIME MINISTERS BEFORE TACKLING THE PROBLEM AGAIN.

8. COMMENT: IT IS CLEAR FROM COMMENTS BY TZOUNIS AND OTHERS THAT GREEKS BELIEVE THEY ARE THE ONES TRYING TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH AND THAT TURKS ARE STANDING PAT ON THEIR ORIGINAL DEMANDS. IN THE ABSENCE OF PROGRESS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, GOG THINKS DISPUTE SHOULD BE SETTLED BY INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE OR THIRD-PARTY ARBITRATION AS HAS OCCURED IN SIMILAR CONTINENTAL SHELF CASES ELSEWHERE. THE FACT THAT TURKS REFUSE THESE ALTERNATIVES EVEN THOUGH THE DECISION WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE GREATLY IN THEIR FAVOR CAUSES MANY GREEKS TO SUSPECT TURKS HAVE ANOTHER OBJECTIVE IN MIND; THEY FEAR IT IS EXPANSION OF TURKISH SOVEREIGNTY IN THE AEGEAN. WHETHER TZOUNIS' LATEST ACCOUNT IS FULL STORY OR PARIS TALKS OR NOT, GREEKS AT MANY LEVELS CLEARLY FEEL THEY ARE DOING THEIR PART TO SETTLE THIS DISAGREEMENT AND THAT IT IS TIME FOR SOME TURKISH FLEXIBILITY.

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Message Attributes

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